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# PALEOCRYPTOZOOLOGY: A CALL FOR COLLABORATION BETWEEN CLASSICISTS AND CRYPTOZOOLOGISTS

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ABSTRACT: Paleocryptozoologists should become aware of the extensive body of ancient textual and archaeological evidence for Mediterranean crypto-animals. A cross-referenced catalog of interdisciplinary sources concerning ancient cryptids in art, literature, and archaeology is needed to make the material accessible. A selected source-list of ancient texts shows how Heuvelmans' (1968) chronology of sea monsters could be extended back to about 700 B.C. No previous identification of the griffin by cryptozoologists or classicists accounts for all of the relevant evidence. Ancient interest in paleontology has been underestimated by modern scholars. Modern Aegean and Asian archaeological and paleontological field reports of "anomalous" remains could also contribute to classical cryptozoology.

## INTRODUCTION

According to Roy Mackal, "It is the concern of the cryptozoologist to . . . determine whether or not a particular case represents something solid, real, and, perhaps, unique"; that is, whether the evidence suggests an imaginary creature, a "relict species," or a "mistaken identification of an ordinary animal." As Mackal notes, it is the responsibility of "those who have the requisite resources" to make them available for "the development of science" (Mackal 1980: xii). In this paper, I want to draw attention to an extensive body of neglected cryptozoological evidence in ancient literary and artistic sources, and in archaeological collections and publications.

If cryptozoologists are serious about the need to address "professional skepticism" due to "fragmentary or inadequate evidence" and the need to make our work "a legitimate and recognized scientific activity" (Mackal 1980: xii), the use of these well-documented scholarly resources would go far to enhance the credibility of paleocryptozoological research.

Since the Renaissance, classical scholars have documented literally thousands of texts and artifacts depicting Greco-Roman "unknown" animals. Classicists usually analyze this textual and physical evidence for artistic, historical, or symbolic significance only. This vast, diverse resource is rarely consulted by paleocryptozoologists. Moreover, as paleomammalogist Christine Janis has commented, "There may be a wealth of . . . examples of fossil animals represented in archaeological artifacts or artwork awaiting a concerned researcher in cryptozoology," and "the significance of such artifacts is more likely to be noted by paleontologists than by archaeologists because of [paleontologists'] familiarity with animals represented in the fossil record"

(Janis 1987: 10, 22). Indeed, modern archaeological field reports refer to "exotic" faunal remains in many Mediterranean sites, but survey teams tend to pay little attention to anomalous or extinct remains (Reese 1985). If these obscure reports were cataloged, interesting cryptozoological patterns might emerge.

The lack of a systematic bibliography of archaeological, literary, and artistic sources has meant that cryptozoologists trying to identify unknown animals of antiquity have had to rely on incomplete citations of traditional (and sometimes medievally corrupted) authorities and on a few supposedly "typical" artifacts. Those who want to determine whether observations of "extinct" animals in historical times might have inspired ancient narratives or depictions of unknown creatures need to know about the relevant artifacts in museum collections. Illustrations, dates, and provenience do appear in classical publications, but these are often hard for non-classicists to track down. And none of the ancient material is indexed in cryptozoological terms.

The task of collecting and classifying the immense corpus of Greco-Roman artifacts—and then correlating this evidence with all the known written accounts from a cryptozoological point of view—is daunting, but the benefits would be far-reaching. Three major problems need to be overcome: (1) the original sources are written in ancient Greek and Latin; (2) many of the artifacts and remains are in far-flung or obscure museum collections, or only described by the original excavators in brief notes and appendices; and (3) descriptions and discussions are usually published in journals read only by classical scholars. Obviously, the task requires ongoing collaboration between cryptozoologists and interested specialists in classics.

Fortunately, most of the literary portion of the project—gathering references to unknown animals in written sources—could be accomplished fairly quickly using the recently completed *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (*TLG*) IBYCUS computer system. The *TLG* contains on a single laser disk all ancient Greek literature (the collection of Latin texts is under way); it is available in many university classics libraries. Using IBYCUS, anyone who knows ancient Greek can call up from the *TLG* every mention of a given crypto-animal in minutes. For example, a search of ancient Greek literature for the word *gryps* ("griffin" in ancient Greek) turned up over 200 passages written by more than 60 authors. A cryptozoologist working with a classical scholar could undertake similar searches for words or phrases denoting "sea monster," for example, and produce a printout of every passage in Greek literature that refers to marine monsters. The passages would then need to be translated, analyzed for relevance, and classified by type.

Gathering the artistic and archaeological evidence is more challenging, but, again, a cooperative effort by classicists and cryptozoologists makes the project feasible.

This article points out the extent of the evidence for ancient crypto-animals, and suggests how a cross-disciplinary approach could advance studies in cryptozoology, classics, art history, folklore, archaeology, and other fields. I include a selected bibliography of ancient sea monster sources as an example, and some representations of classical crypto-animals not ordinarily consulted by cryptozoologists appear as Figs. 1 through 4. I hope this article will stimulate cryptozoologists and scholars in classics and related fields to contribute to this interdisciplinary project.

## Unidentified Crypto-animals of Antiquity

The many "unknown" animals in ancient texts and artifacts are carefully recorded by classical scholars according to date, mythological or artistic style, and place of origin. The characteristics of the narratives and artifacts could be keyed into established or new cryptozoological classes. These types could then be cross-checked against other classification genres. For example, the *sirrush* dragon of the Babylonian Ishtar Gate (ca. 600 B.C.) has many features similar to those of Greek griffin-types and the (Persian) Persepolis monster; and some characteristics of the crested/maned Aegean sea serpent are similar to those of crested Scythian griffins. Yet, these similarities are typically attributed to *artistic* influence alone by art historians (on *sirrush* see Ley 1948: chap. 6, Heuvelmans 1972: 286–88, Lum 1952: 24, Costello 1979: 106).

## The Griffin

Hundreds of quadruped predators with bird- or lizard-like features exist in Mediterranean and Middle Eastern artifacts, although cryptozoologists are aware of only a few frequently published illustrations of "griffins." Ancient Greek and Latin descriptions of griffin habitat, behavior, and appearance are datable and detailed; unfortunately, only a few translations are familiar to cryptozoologists. Classical scholars assume that these creatures—classed as "griffins" despite anatomical variations—are either imaginary or misrepresented real animals. Few non-classicists realize that a great variety of unknown animals appear on Scythian gold, bronze, wood, and leather objects from 3000 to 100 B.C. (Metropolitan Museum of Art 1975, Basilov 1989). Illustrations and photographs of the extensive variety of griffins in collections are available in publications that are often inaccessible to non-classicists (Archaeological Museums of Samos, Delphi, Olympia, Pella, Corinth, and Athens, Greece; Bisi 1965, Bouras 1983, Flagge 1975, Toynbee 1982: 287, 290, 291).

Cryptozoologists and folklorists attempting to identify the *gryps* or "griffin" tend to cite the well-known ancient authorities (Aristeas, Ctesias, Herodotus, Aelian, Aechylus, and Pausanias), and the standard depictions of griffins

are arbitrarily assumed to be "typical." Consequently, they have concluded, along with classical scholars, that either (1) the griffin was a misidentified real creature, such as an eagle, vulture, or other large raptor, or a Tibetan mastiff, or (2) the griffin was an imaginary invention symbolizing vigilance or the difficulties of gold-mining in the Asian steppes (Jennison 1937: 115, Bolton 1962, How and Wells 1928: vol. 1, 307, with references, Liddell and Scott 1940: sv *gryps,* Ball 1883, Costello 1979: 71–82 and references pp. 193–95). But the first conclusion is undermined by the fact that other representations of real raptors and mammals from the same time and place are anatomically accurate. As for the second conclusion, symbolic creatures of antiquity tend to be obviously imaginary hybrids, such as mammals with wings or human heads.

Identifications have depended on selecting only some attributes, and excluding others, to suit a particular theory. Neither the "mistaken identity" thesis nor the "symbolic animal" idea attempts to account for all of the factors (anatomy, habitat, behavior) associated with the griffin in antiquity. Neglected are the thousands of lesser-known depictions of four-legged predators with raptorial or reptilian features, large claws, scales, crests or manes, and distinctive knobbed heads (Fig. 1).

The *geographic landscape* of Central Asia where the legend of the griffin originated has not been considered, nor has the significance of the artifacts suggesting *behavior.* Griffins are shown attacking their prey (horses, mountain goats, elk, geese, deer, and humans); fighting with lions, humans, or other griffin-types (pedimental sculpture, Temple of Apollo, Delphi Museum, Greece; Bolton 1962: 87, Rudenko 1970: 235–36); being captured (along with zoologically accurate known animals) in a baited trap ("Great Hunt" mosaic, Toynbee 1982: 29, 40–41); and even with their young (bronze metope covering, Archaeological Museum, Olympia, Greece).

An adequate working hypothesis for identifying the griffin should accommodate all of the information in the ancient texts and artworks, and should incorporate ancient and modern discoveries of large prehistoric bones in the griffin's traditional habitat (Mayor, in preparation). The carefully documented work on the possible identification of the Egyptian animal god Set is a model of the kind of cross-disciplinary approach that could be undertaken for the griffin (Swords 1985).

## Wild Men, Scythian Warriors, Pygmy Hippos

The accounts (e.g., Pausanias, Pliny, Apollodorus) of "hairy wild men and women" encountered in antiquity have not been analyzed from a cryptozoological point of view (Costello 1979: 62). Analysis should consider literary sources in relation to artistic representations; for example, the Scythian mirror-back that shows shaggy men battling a griffin (Bolton 1962: 89–91, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1975: plate 4).

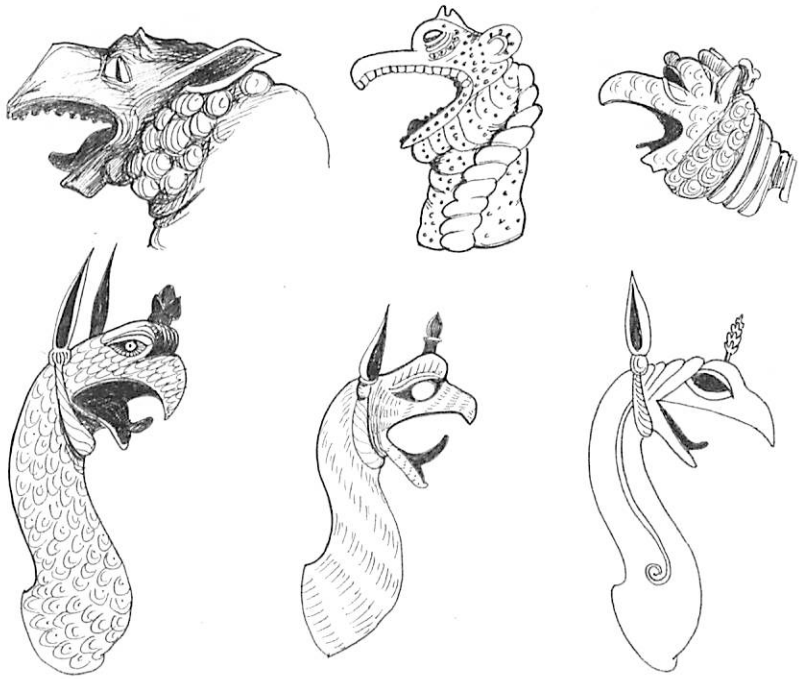

FIG. 1.—Six examples of the scores of Archaic bronze "griffin" heads from the Temple of Hera, ca. 7th–6th century B.C., Samos, Greece. They range from brutish and bulky, apparently "realistic" depictions, to elegant renditions in which some details have evolved into decorative motifs; yet certain anatomical features remain consistent. (Scales vary; drawings by Adrienne Mayor.)

Most classicists and cryptozoologists are surprised to learn that the mummified bodies of 5th century B.C. Scythian warriors, discovered in frozen tombs in central Asia, are covered with tattoos of realistically-drawn known and unknown animals. The tattoos themselves may have shamanistic meanings; interestingly, many of the unknown animals conform to griffin-types (Rudenko 1970). Moreover, the steppes where the griffin legend arose has extensive fossil remains revealed by erosion, raising the possibility of a connection between observation of petrified bones and artistic depictions of "strange" animals (Mayor, in preparation).

In 1926, several huge terracotta heads with knobs, tusks, ridges, and bulging eyes were unearthed (Karo 1934) from two ca. 8th century B.C. sites in Greece (Archaeological Museum, Nauplia, Greece). Certain features of the "gorgon-like" masks call to mind the skull and teeth of the hippopotamus

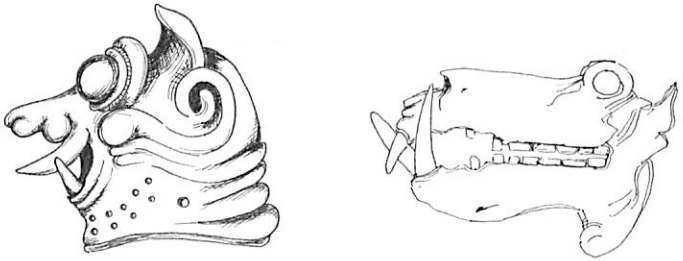

FIG. 2.—Left: one of the "grotesque" terracotta masks (large enough to fit over a human head) from Tiryns, ca. 8th century B.C., Archaeological Museum, Nauplia, Greece. Right: a possible model—the skull of a prehistoric hippopotamus. (Drawing by Adrienne Mayor.)

(Fig. 2), whose canines and fossil bones are common in the Aegean. The pygmy hippopotamus was once believed to have become extinct in the Aegean long before the appearance of humans. But recent (and controversial) archaeological discoveries indicate that humans may have hunted the pygmy hippopotamus to extinction on Cyprus 10,000 B.P. (Simmons 1988, *Science News* 1988). The grotesque heads could have been based on fossil discoveries or observations of the pygmy hippo before its extinction.

## SEA MONSTERS

Hundreds of detailed depictions of ancient Mediterranean sea monsters are fully documented, dated, and typed according to artistic style and place of origin. Yet no scholar has classified these depictions from a cryptozoological standpoint. Existing cryptozoological discussions of Mediterranean sea monsters (Heuvelmans 1968: 45–46, 48, 82–84, 86–87, 135, 241, 593, Ley 1948: 92–94) could be supplemented with ancient accounts of lesser known but significant—and datable—reports of "out of place" and "unknown" sea creatures that washed up on coasts, remains or models displayed in Rome and Greece, and sailors' encounters with unidentified marine creatures (Mayor 1985).

Besides the extensive and diachronically consistent evidence for two distinct sea monster types (Fig. 3), the *ketos* ("dog-headed sea dragon") and the *hippokampos* ("mer-horse"), ancient texts written between 700 B.C. and 500 A.D. also describe giant eels, sharks, octopuses, sea turtles, snakes, and squid; the Hydra; "dragons"; and mer-people (see Selected Annotated Bibliography). Using the IBYCUS system, every mention of unusual marine creatures could be gathered, and then cross-checked with representations of sea monsters in vase paintings, mosaics, sculpture, bronzes, jewelry, ivories, seals, gems, and coins (Shepard 1940, Thompson 1947, Boardman 1987) to develop a typology of anatomy, habitat, and behavior, structured along the

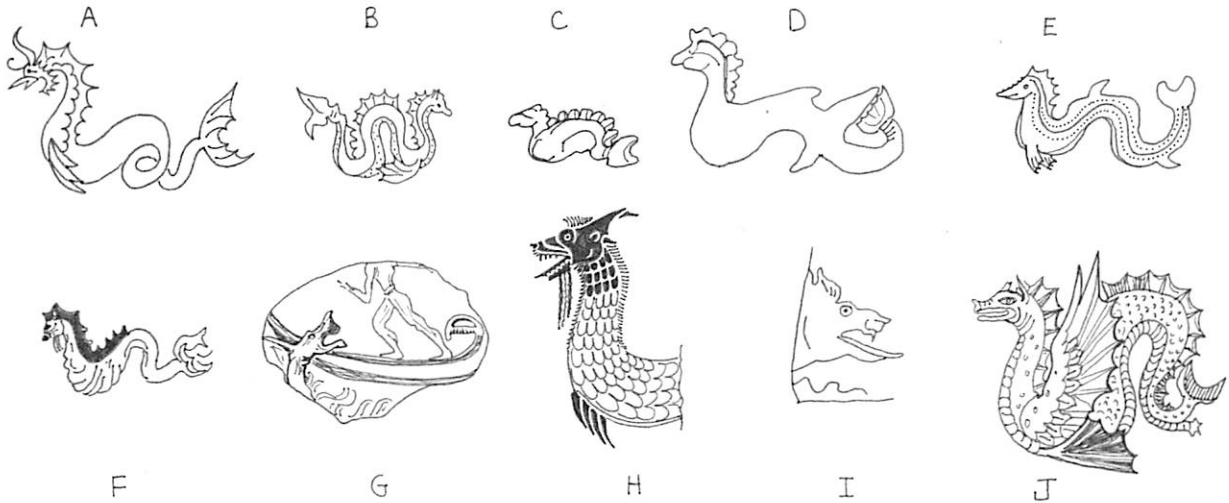


FIG. 3.—Ten examples of representations of the *ketos* sea monster type. A. Greek vase painting, ca. 500 B.C., Louvre, Paris. B. South Italian vase painting, ca. 4th century B.C., Wurzburg. C. Scythian (from Crimea) ornament-pin, Birmingham, England. D. Marble relief, from Melos, National Museum, Athens. E. South Italian vase painting, ca. 4th century B.C., Czartoryski Museum, Goluchow. F. Sculpted relief from Temple of the Via San Leonardo, Orvieto. G. Clay seal from Minoan Knossos, ca. 3000–1400 B.C., Archaeological Museum, Herakleion, Crete. H. Painted plaque, from Corinth, ca. 7th–6th century B.C., Berlin. I. Vase painting, from Corinth, head of sea monster that menaced Andromeda, 7th–6th century B.C., Berlin. J. Gold ornament, Scythian, 4th century B.C., Hermitage, Leningrad. (Scales vary; drawings by Adrienne Mayor.)

lines of the "annotated checklist" by Heuvelmans (1986). Preliminary research suggests that the features of sea monsters and encounters with them in antiquity are remarkably congruent with the exhaustive chronology by Heuvelmans (1968), which begins with the year 1639. When that chronology is extended back to antiquity, the record of classifiable sea monsters should become even more compelling.

## Ancient and Modern Paleontology

"Exotic" faunal remains excavated by archaeologists at Greek sites include such anomalies as non-Mediterranean shark vertebrae and teeth, fossils, and shells; unexpectedly large cattle, horse, and human bones; extinct ostrich eggs; and Pliocene and Miocene lion, elephant, and pygmy hippopotamus bones and teeth (Reese 1984, Rapp 1978: 69–70). Such findings could be fruitfully pursued by cryptozoologists. Archaeologists rarely follow up on these "unclassifiable" items, and only recently have they begun to include experts in animal remains on survey teams (Reese 1985). Zooarchaeologist Simon Davis (1987: 20–21, 118–25) points out that his field only began to develop as a true discipline with the founding of the International Council for Archaeozoology (ICAZ) in 1976. (This organization publishes a newsletter, as well as lists of addresses, research topics and other items of possible interest to cryptozoologists. The address is: ICAZ, Biological-Archaeological Institute, University of Groningen, Poststraat 6, 9712 ER Groningen, Holland.) David Reese, of the Field Museum of Natural History, in Chicago, is one of the few scholars who publishes research (1976, 1981, 1984, 1985) combining Mediterranean paleontology, classical archaeology, and folklore.

No single source collects and analyzes the Greek and Roman accounts of the discovery of fossils in the Mediterranean and Asia Minor. Although modern scholars underestimate the ancient interest in paleontology, many ancient sources describe fossil hunting by Greeks and Romans in locations now confirmed by modern paleontological work as fossiliferous. Greece and Central Asia have very rich fossil beds yielding extinct mammal material, including *Samotherium* and other giraffids, the immense *Dinotherium* and *Baluchitherium, Hipparion, Tragocerus, Ictitherium, Dinocyon, Hyaenarctos, Metarctos, Helladotherium, Pliohyrax, Hystrix, Orycteropus, Chalicotherium, Ancylotherium,* and an assortment of other forms, including felids, rhinos, hippos, elephantids, gazelles and antelopes, a giant tortoise, and a giant ostrich (Mayor 1983, 1984, Woodward 1901 with notes, Bate 1905, Melentis 1961, 1982, Wendt 1968: 237–43, Andrews 1926, Davis 1987, Osborn 1921: 200–71 with notes, Gore 1982: 704–06).

Modern archaeological excavations show that prehistoric skulls, teeth, eggs, and fossils were collected or acquired by trade in antiquity (Reese 1981, 1985), and stored in treasuries and shrines along with other valuables (Rapp

1978: 70, Davis 1987: 118, Andrews 1926: 268–98). Although some scholars have raised the possibility that "fabulous" animals in narratives and artifacts could have been based on discoveries of fossils (Carrington 1957: 71, Bolton 1962: 84, Lum 1952: 25, 48, Ingersoll 1928: vi, Thenius 1973: 32–38), the acceptance or rejection of this theory for ancient crypto-animals tends to be arbitrary and contradictory.

It is well known among cryptozoologists that U. Vogelsang, who sculpted the dragon of Klagenfurt, Austria, in 1590, based the statue on the skull of an Ice Age woolly rhinoceros which had been dug up in a nearby quarry in about 1000 A.D. (Thenius 1973: 37–38, Ley 1948: 53–54). Paleontologists and folklorists generally accept that the legend of the one-eyed ogre Cyclops was inspired by observations of elephant skulls, common in the Mediterranean region (Thenius 1973: 37, Ley 1948: 47–51, Wendt 1968: 19, Carrington 1956: 50, Swinton 1966: 21–22). Nevertheless, the idea that the ancient Greeks and Romans might have *consciously* attempted to reconstruct an unusual animal from its fossil remains has been rejected "because the ancients were not paleontologists," and classical scholars dismiss their interest in fossils as "accidental," "never deliberate" (Phillips 1964, Heuvelmans 1972: 286, Costello 1979: 76, Ley 1948: 54, 162, Swinton 1966: 20).

In fact, classical texts attest to the planned excavation and rational identification of the relics of past cultures and "extinct" flora and fauna from fossil beds. Theories of evolution and extinction had been developed in Greece as early as the 6th century B.C. (Matthews 1962: 144–45, Osborn 1929: 39–102). Reliable ancient sources relate that, when fossils were discovered in antiquity, they were transported with great care, identified, preserved, restored, and sometimes traded. Reconstructed models or the remains of "unknown" species were displayed in Greece and Rome, as were skins or actual specimens of living "unknown" animals (Halliday 1928: 207–09 with references). Identifications were proposed for fossil remains, based on a relatively sophisticated understanding of history, geography, natural history, and anatomy (Phillips 1964: 177). Although the Greeks and Romans certainly were not "paleontologists" in the modern sense, numerous passages (for example, in Herodotus, Pausanias, Aelian, Suetonius, Plutarch, Philostratos) support the theory that some representations and descriptions of crypto-animals in antiquity were based on reconstructions from skeletons of living or extinct animals (Mayor, in preparation).

Some artifacts, such as the group of large "grotesque" terracotta heads in the Nauplia Museum (Fig. 2), seem to be good candidates for the reconstruction theory. Working with specialists in other disciplines, paleocryptozoologists could integrate the artistic record with the ancient texts and the modern excavation reports to determine (1) whether individual or combined features from prehistoric fossils were used as models, or (2) whether "living fossils" might have been observed in historical times.

## Interdisciplinary Approach

The Greek island of Samos exemplifies the richness of the unanalyzed data discussed in this article. Ancient literature, folklore, and artifacts, and modern archaeology and paleontology intersect in ways that could benefit from the kind of collaboration suggested here. Since at least the 5th century B.C., huge bones unearthed from red gullies of central Samos were thought to be the remains of giant monsters called Neides whose roars were said to cause earthquakes. In Hellenistic times (3rd–1st centuries B.C.), the bones were identified as the skeletons of a herd of Indian elephants that died on Samos while being transported to Greece by the god Dionysus. Alternatively, the bones were regarded as marking the burial ground of (giant) Amazons slain in battle on Samos (Halliday 1928: 208).

The Samos Archaeological Museum has a superb collection of bronze heads of unknown animals excavated from the Temple of Hera. All are identified by art historians as 7th century B.C. "griffins," despite salient differences (see Fig. 1). The Museum also contains a small carved wooden head of an unidentified animal also excavated at the Temple. Its small eyes, snout, and fangs bring to mind features of the wolf, baboon, or shark/dolphin (Fig. 4).

Indo-Pacific giant clamshells, ostrich eggshells, hippopotamus canines, and North African antelope horns were also retrieved from excavations in the ancient Temple area (Reese, personal communication, Boessneck and von den Driesch 1981). And in Mytilini, a little-known paleontological museum displays the fossils of the giant *Samotherium* and other large prehistoric mammals excavated in modern times from the red gullies of the Nekrotafion Zoön ("animal graveyard"), where huge bones had come to light in antiquity (Melentis 1982). Few art historians who study the Samos griffins are aware of the island's paleontological deposits. Cryptozoologists interested in identifying the griffin should note this coexistence of possibly related resources. The island of Samos is just one example of a site where classical texts and legend, ancient artifacts and fossils collected in antiquity, and modern paleontology coalesce. The region of ancient Scythia is another.

## Conclusion

This brief survey indicates the wealth of ancient material that could be integrated into existing or new cryptozoological classes. The material is wide-ranging, from ancient Greek and Roman literary and artistic works to modern archaeology and paleontology. Collecting the scattered and sometimes obscure evidence into one accessible resource would require a long-term and close collaboration between classicists and cryptozoologists, but there is no question that it would prove to be *mutually* beneficial. If the many "unidentifiable" creatures depicted in artifacts were integrated with all of the ancient written references to "unknown animals," and checked against an-

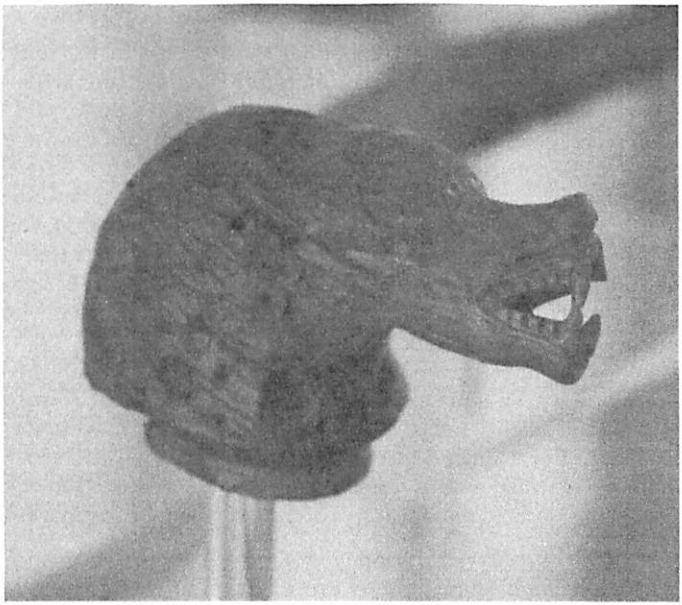

FIG. 4.—Carved wooden head of unidentified animal, 6th–7th century B.C., Samos Museum, Samos, Greece. About 5 inches high. (Photo by Adrienne Mayor.)

cient and modern discoveries of extinct or unknown animals, the contribution to both paleocryptozoology and classics could be far-reaching.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Helen Michaliades of the Samos Museum, Greece, encouraged my early interest in the origin of griffins; the late Professor Eugene Vanderpool of the American School of Classical Studies in Athens told me about the bone beds of Greece; and David Reese of the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, generously shared his extensive files on "exotic" Mediterranean archaeology and paleontology. It was Josiah Ober, Professor of Ancient History, Montana State University, who first invited me to Greece and spurred me to write it all down.

## SELECTED ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR SEA MONSTERS OF ANTIQUITY AS AN EXAMPLE OF SOME IMPORTANT PRIMARY SOURCES

Sources (700 B.C. to 550 A.D.) for the sea monster (a complete list of every ancient Greek source can be produced by the *TLG* IBYCUS system):

Aelian 13.21, 15.19 (pickled triton and Damostratos' description), 14.23 (*ketos*)
Apollodorus 2.5.9 (Hesione and sea monster), 2.4.2–3 (Andromeda and sea monster)
Aristophanes *Frogs* 556, *Thesmo.* 1033 (*ketos*)
Aristotle *HA* 4.7.12, 8.26.8
Dio Cassius 75.16.5 ("whale" at mouth of Tiber)
Diodorus Siculus 2.54.3 (*ketos*)
Euripides fragment 121 (*ketos*)
Eustathius 294.16 (*ketos*)
*Greek Anthology* 6.38 (*ketos*), 7.275 (sea beasts), 7.506, 9.371
Herodotus 6.44 (Athos peninsula monsters)
Hesychius (sv *ketos*)
Homer *Od* 5.421, *Id* 20.147 (*ketos*)
Josephus *BJ* 3.442
Juba II
Laevius *Poet.* 21 (fragment ca. 300 B.C., earliest use of *hippokampos* to denote sea monster)
Lycophron 954 (*ketos*)
Manilius *Astronomica* 5.600 (*cetus*)
Moschus 2.116, 2.119 (*ketos*)
Oppian *Haleutica* 5.113 (*ketos*)
Pausanius 2.10.2 (huge sea creature's skull at Corinth); 9.20.4–21.1 Levy note 105 (pickled triton); 4.35.9 (Andromeda and monster), 2.1.8 (sea monster statue), 1.44.12 (giant man-eating turtle), 8.2.7 (triton), 1.4.1 (Atlantic sea monsters), 2.34.2 (marine monsters and sharks), 5.17.11 (statue of river monster), 5.25.3 (Adriatic sea monsters), 4.34.2 (river monsters), 10.12.1 (killer of sea monsters), 10.4.4 (immense sea-giant washed up at Cadiz), 9.26.5 (giant serpent killed with fishhooks)
Pliny *NA* 5.69 (Andromeda); 36.26 (*hippokampos*), 9.5 (orca beached at Ostia used in games under Claudius), 9.4 (displayed remains)
Procopius *History* 7.29.9–16 (45-foot "whale" stranded at Constantinople after 50 years of trouble)
Sargon of Akkad inscription
Strabo 8.7.2, 16.2.17 and 28 (Beirut monster and Andromeda)
Suetonius 2.72 (Augustus' fossil museum)
Varro *Sat Men* 406 (*cetus*)

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